



BEWARE OF COUNTERFEIT AND BONUS NOTES.—Our friends cannot be too careful in selecting money to send us; to their reliance, we would say, that nothing is safer than to have it sent by express to a post-office, or to a bank, or to a postmaster, or to a citizen of the city. We would also say, that no town or city is considered good, or will be received by us, except the following: Bank of Washington, Bank of Metropolitan, Patriotic Bank, Exchange Bank of Boston, Wm. & Co., Boston, Exchange Bank of New York, Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, and Corporation of Georgetown, Georgetown, D. C.

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1854

## THE SPIRIT OF THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

There is a power, and which exerts a mighty sway, known as the Religious Press. We are glad to see where the expression of men of all sects uniting in speaking their sentiments, plainly, fearlessly, and fully. Witness these extracts, which of the many we can only because they speak for great bodies of the religious of our country.

First, from *Zion's Herald*, an organ of the Methodists, under date of February 15. Making up the week's summary, the editor says:

"At home, the Nebraska bill still attracts the chief attention of the people, as well as of Congress. We wish it excited stronger abhorrence and more active opposition than it did. The people seem to think that such political villainy, such a violation of good faith, as is involved in the proposed compromise, is impossible, and will not be consummated. They know how Southern boast of their honor. They know that the North admires Missouri as a slave State, it was the South formally stipulated that the territory north of 36° deg. 30' should be left to the slaves. They know that the slaves from the pollution of Slavery will come to Nebraska, and that the North will convince Northern politicians that from moment they vote to repeat the Compromise, they are politically dead! Let this impression be made upon them, and Nebraska will be safe. We trust that every man who votes to renew their political representations, by sending them some very plain-worded letters and protests."

The *American Baptist* of the 16th February speaks of this bill of iniquities. We extract from a long article:

"This bill sweeps away all former arrangements for the restriction of the crime and curse of Slavery within certain boundaries, and proclaims, alike in States and Territories, throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof, liberty to perpetrate that crime, and to entail upon their descendants future misery. Let them choose. Let this doctrine receive the solemn sanction of a Congressional enactment, and let the people of the nominally free States submit, as they have submitted to previous aggressions of the slave power, and their consequences will be an instant and irretrievable destruction of the North. To a garrison that consents to the destruction of its defenses, virtually consents that the foe should occupy its citadel."

But will the people of the North thus submit? That remains to be seen, with which they are scarcely aware of the evil with which they are menaced. They have not adequately weighed the extent of the moral delinquency of the midwest.

"They have not deliberately weighed the consequences of throwing open to the unrestrained entrance and occupancy of the slave power, in the most direful heart of the continent and of the nation, a field of empire, in magnitude

of all the existing free States, and the conception of California. It is the policy of the conspirators to hurry through their nefarious scheme to its consummation, before the people shall have time to perceive and protest against it. In so far as it has now gone, and presents have already been uttered, the vote of non-resistance, we trust, will continue to be heard in both Houses of Congress, so long as the contemplated measure is pending. Should it finally pass, a sterner duty than that of remonstrance devolves upon the people of the free States, the duty of fighting, holding, and fighting. If they are resolute to that, if they yield tamely and passively, and permit the pollutions and miseries of Slavery to overspread that broad, fair dominion, which their fathers consecrated forever to freedom, they will deserve themselves to wear the chain."

The *Northern Christian Advocate* (Methodist) published the 15th inst., says:

"The *Nebraska Enquirer*—If the men who figure in the bill of iniquities, the *Patriot*, *Nebraska*, had any reputation to lose, they would surely lose it—for nothing is more certain than that all who vote for that measure will be held responsible for it."

"War is waged to acquire Territory for slaveholding purposes—the People are aroused, determined that this slavery shall not triumph."

Sixteen Legislatures announce their triumph—

"The Wilmett Proviso. A sharp struggle follows—the Proviso is abandoned."

"Well, say they, what is done cannot be undone—everything is settled—this at least is a finality—we shall have peace now."

Such aggression follows aggression, each

"sovereign" and "independent," but infras and evanescent. In the end, the People give way before the stolid purpose and concentrated energy of the Slave Interest, and resume their wonted occupations, without having learned wisdom by experience, or provided any safeguard against future aggression. The men who consent their resistance to Slavery as an abominable element of mischief, they denounce as agitators, fanatics, monomaniacs, etc., of the peace; and while they thus set their faces against agitation, the very Power which they imagine has been appealed by submission, is invidiously plotting some new aggression upon their rights.

Will the Conservative men of the North, shocked at the breach of faith involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and yet alarmed at the idea of being found associated with the Anti-Slavery party to oppose the movement, attend to a few considerations, which have hitherto escaped them?

Slavery is necessarily aggressive. This is the very law of its existence. It does not ask merely to be let alone—it demands homage and supremacy. Whatever its pretences about Non-intervention, it recognises that policy only when intervention might interfere with its designs.

It is necessarily aggressive, for three reasons, which are always operating, render its aggressiveness uninterrupted and perpetual.

"It is an exertion in our social and political system—an abnormal condition—which the general workings of our normal political and social institutions tend to reduce and ultimately remove."

The principles of Christianity proclaimed from the pulpit very Sabbath are against it. Every appeal to the Declaration of Independence is against it. Every declaration of rights in every State of the Union is against it. Every act of Government involving the assumption of the brotherhood of the human family, or an acknowledgment of the common origin of man, or a recognition of the rights and interests of the masses, is against it. To sympathize with Humanity anywhere, struggling against Despotism, to protest against unusual oppression in any country, to rescue a human being from the clutches of a foreign tyrant, is against it. All benevolent laws, all wise policies, all assertions of Democratic doctrines, are against it. Were it inert and passive, it would be swept away. This was the faith of the authors of the Federal Constitution. They knew that, in the system they were putting into operation, Liberty was the Rule, Slavery, the Exception—and they believed that the Rule would prevail, and the Exception cease. If we have not killed Slavery, was the remark of one of

this world—that man here has no spiritual nature, and that all his interests are purely material. But they have no objection to receiving "aid and comfort" from this same Religious Press. When distinguished Divines in 1850 united in returning thanks to Daniel Webster for saving the Union, they were lauded to the skies, as sensible, sincere patriots, and the *New York Observer* became an authority the moment it assailed Mrs. Stowe as an enemy to her country. Nothing do they have with so much pleasure as an elaborate vindication, by a religious paper, of the right to buy and sell men and women, and work them without paying them wages. The religious paper that advocates free labor is fanatical; that which defends slave labor is patriotic and God-fearing. How true that the *Watchman* (*Va. Enquirer*) says of a leading Boston paper, "The *Religious Press*. The *Watchman* and *Observer* of this town supports the Nebraska bill in an article, which, for solid argument is surpassed by nothing yet written on the subject. But they overlooked another fact, of great importance—in calculating the consequences of institutions, viz.: that *Exceptions sometimes become Laws*. One vice will sap the foundation of many virtues. A single breach serves to let in a flood of evil. One exceptional institution, driven by the instinct of self-preservation, to watch and work unceasingly against the general tendencies of the system of which it is a part, more than balances, at times, by its extraordinary action, the normal operation of that system. Those whose interests are identified with it, know that it can be maintained only by extreme vigilance and exertion. They anticipate threatened danger—they set themselves to work to counteract the spirit of the Constitution that barely tolerates it—they seek to appropriate to themselves the powers it confers, that they may shape them as to strengthen, rather than weaken, their exceptional institution. In this way, while the mass of the People are trusting quietly to the workings of Natural Law, and the tendencies of a system generally conformed to them, without active exertions to enforce them, those few, sleepless, ever-active supporters of an institution which has been allowed simply as an Exception, are stealthily accumulating power, and changing the Exception to a general Law."

WHY AGGRESSIVE.

Conservative journals at the North, opposing the measures of Mr. Douglass for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, deplore the revival of an agitation, which they had fondly hoped was put at rest by the legislation of 1850. Religious papers, constrained by a sense of duty to condemn it, marvel at the spirit of aggression manifested by the slaveholders. Whig and Democratic editors are scandalized and astounded at the re-opening of issues settled four years ago, especially after the conventions of the two old parties had pronounced that settlement final.

Meers, Smith and Everett, in the House, take care to accompany their opposition to the bill with disavowals of all sympathy with Abolitionism, and declarations of hostility to any expenditure or discussion on the question of Slavery.

All this argues a lamentable ignorance of the nature and relations of Slavery. It shows that, notwithstanding the experience of more than half a century of the malign workings of this great social and political evil, notwithstanding the repeated sectional conflicts growing out of it, notwithstanding the labors of the planters, could have saved the British colonies from utter ruin under the system of Slave Labor, no change for the better in the habits of the planters, no change for the better in the code, no change for the better in the habits of the slaves, could have given the Union the expectations of its founders, and the hope of mankind that the more prominent aggressions of Slavey, which from time to time arose even the Conservatism of the country, were only the development of the Policy of Propagandism, originating from the fundamental nature and relations of the Evil; that the discussion and agitation of this Evil, and the attempt to arouse and organize the slaves, to make them dream of deliverance, machinery, or of preserving the productive power of the soil they till. Besides, their labor is used chiefly in the growth of a few great staples, not for consumption upon the spot, but for exportation, for purposes of consumption in other regions.

Thus, by a double process—reckless waste of productive power in the soil, and transportation to other climates of those products whose consumption would give back to the soil the vitality extracted from it—the system of Slave Labor is compelled constantly to seek an enlargement of its area. Can there only by constant accretions of new and virgin soil.

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For holding this theory, for acting upon it, for inciting it upon their fellow-slaves, "Abolitionists," "Liberty men," "Free-Southerners," "Independent Democrats," call them by what name you will, have been denounced and ostracized, as men of one idea, disturbers of the peace, agitators, enemies to the Union. The Historian of the Future will pronounce a very different verdict. His pages will show, that had their views been adopted, their counsels followed, the Union would have fulfilled the expectations of its founders and the hopes of mankind that the more prominent aggressions of Slavey, which from time to time arose even the Conservatism of the country, were only the development of the Policy of Propagandism, originating from the fundamental nature and relations of the Evil; that the discussion and agitation of this Evil, and the attempt to arouse and organize the slaves, to make them dream of deliverance, machinery, or of preserving the productive power of the soil they till. Besides, their labor is used chiefly in the growth of a few great staples, not for consumption upon the spot, but for exportation, for purposes of consumption in other regions.

In a policy, necessary to its being, to be arrested by deceptive Compromises, or the lying resolves of Party Conventions, in favor of the principles of the Free States, the *Watchman* (*Va. Enquirer*) says, "Slavery is *internal*, not *insular*, and is determined to keep open the Continent to its march. It finds Texas convenient, and annexes it; it believes a part of Mexico fit for its peculiar culture, and conquers it, although providentially that which it chiefly longed for has eluded its grasp. It sees some advantages in other portions, and proposes to buy them with the surplus in the Treasury. The Missouri Compromise is in the way, of establishing a Principle of Governmental Policy, which will give impunity to its schemes of acquisition in the Free States, so strong is the force of the slave power, in the Free States, so strong is the will of the Free States to resist it, after all the trials and tribulations of the Free States, that broad, fair dominion, which their fathers consecrated forever to freedom, they will deserve themselves to wear the chain."

Just now, the public mind in the Free States seems inclined to anticipate this judgment

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The address on the first page, from the Representative of Ohio, is the constituents, and which have been particularly mentioned, of the accurate and logical mind of Senator Chase on this question, he commands the assent of every candid mind, while the example of the infamous project now on foot to extend the reign of Slavery must excite the indignation of every man who has lost all sense of national or personal honor.

"The address is confined mainly to the political view of the case. But there are other considerations of even still higher importance."

The prospects of the question of Slavery are of the first importance. It is manifestly the embodiment of every element of hostility to the Gospel of Christ and the kingdom of heaven, which he came to establish. The Gospel is LOVE—Slavery is embodied hate. The Gospel is love, but it is not indifference. This is the great truth of the matter.

"To the gods who would destroy the earth, the world is given over to them."

"To the gods who would save the world, we can become the kingship of our Lord and of Christ, this foul embodiment of the spirit of hell must be swept from the earth."

"The question, then, of its extension and permanence, is one which evidently concerns us."

We might add to these, extracts from other religious papers, especially from the *New York Christian Advocate* and *Journal*, the leading paper of the Methodist Episcopal Church, edited by Dr. Bond, formerly of Baltimore, Md.

Some of the Pro-Slavery journals denounce this opposition of the Religious Press, as fanatic and impudent. They seem to think that Religion has nothing to do with the affairs

of this world—that man here has no spiritual nature, and that all his interests are purely material. But they have no objection to receiving "aid and comfort" from this same Religious Press. When distinguished Divines in 1850 united in returning thanks to Daniel Webster for saving the Union, they were lauded to the skies, as sensible, sincere patriots, and the *New York Observer* became an authority the moment it assailed Mrs. Stowe as an enemy to her country. Nothing do they have with so much pleasure as an elaborate vindication, by a religious paper, of the right to buy and sell men and women, and work them without paying them wages. The religious paper that advocates free labor is fanatical; that which defends slave labor is patriotic and God-fearing. How true that the *Watchman* (*Va. Enquirer*) says of a leading Boston paper, "The *Religious Press*. The *Watchman* and *Observer* of this town supports the Nebraska bill in an article, which, for solid argument is surpassed by nothing yet written on the subject. But they overlooked another fact, of great importance—in calculating the consequences of institutions, viz.: that *Exceptions sometimes become Laws*. One vice will sap the foundation of many virtues. A single breach serves to let in a flood of evil. One exceptional institution, driven by the instinct of self-preservation, to watch and work unceasingly against the general tendencies of the system of which it is a part, more than balances, at times, by its extraordinary action, the normal operation of that system. Those whose interests are identified with it, know that it can be maintained only by extreme vigilance and exertion. They anticipate threatened danger—they set themselves to work to counteract the spirit of the Constitution that barely tolerates it—they seek to appropriate to themselves the powers it confers, that they may shape them as to strengthen, rather than weaken, their exceptional institution. In this way, while the mass of the People are trusting quietly to the workings of Natural Law, and the tendencies of a system generally conformed to them, without active exertions to enforce them, those few, sleepless, ever-active supporters of an institution which has been allowed simply as an Exception, are stealthily accumulating power, and changing the Exception to a general Law."

Then, how naturally Slavery becomes aggressive under this aspect. It begets a domineering spirit, a habit of despotic, irresponsible authority, and intemperance in the love of power inherent in human nature. It relieves the Planter from the necessity of labor, and, having excluded the interests of a Free Labor System, in the cultivation of which so much of the enterprise and intellect of the North is expended, it leaves him scarcely any resource for his activities, but Politics. To the art of managing and governing free men, he devotes himself. Politics is his Profession. Slavery has furnished him with a fit training—and he finds in its existence the source of his power, in its nominative and the difference of the two.

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At the next (the short) session, Mr. Chase brought in another bill, embracing all the unoccupied lands in Ohio. Some difficulties in the committee delayed the report; which, however, when made, was favorable, but no action of the Senate was obtained.

At the present session, Mr. Chase again introduced his bill, which was again referred, and favorably acted on; and on his motion, was, on Wednesday last, taken up and passed.

The People of Ohio will expect a different fate for it in the House than that of the former bill, especially as one of her own Representatives is at the head of the Committee on Public Lands.

THE GADIDEN TREATY.

This Treaty is before the Senate, with certain amendments recommended by the President of the United States. Of the substance of these provisions our readers have been advised.

The history of the Free Territories, to us, is the history of free territory, to regard with compunction any policy calculated to augment the political strength of the free States. Can you expect him to be indifferent to the acquisition of slave territory, and the multiplication of slave territories? Witness the rapid growth of the free States will not turn his eye to Cuba, to Hayti, to Mexico, for fresh acquisitions, enabling him to maintain in Congress and the Electoral College the power of the free States all her right and title to these lands. This amendment was adopted, and Virginia accordingly relinquished.

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THE OVERWHELMING POWER OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The projectors of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise are alarmed at the excitement produced in New Hampshire, lest it may throw that State in the approaching election into the hands of an anti-administration majority.

Edmund Burke, editor of the *New Hampshire Reporter*, avows his approbation of the Bill, and wishes the People of the Territory to understand that the repeal of the compromise will be equivalent to a re-establishment of Slavery throughout the Territory of Nebraska.

have power to decide what their institutions shall be. \* \* \* The difference, then, between the Senator from Illinois and myself, is the point at which the People do possess, and may assert this right. It is not the right of the people to form a political body, the People organized, who have this right; and on becoming a State, by the authority of the United States, exercising authority over the Territory, they may establish a fundamental law for all time to come."

These are the opinions of Mr. Davis now. He is a member of the Administration—a bold, determined man, always consistent in his pro-slavery policy. The Administration sustains the Nebraska Bill. Mr. Davis is earnest in its support. It is fair to presume, that the Administration, of which he is a prominent member, understands the Bill, and understands, too, that it is in harmony with Southern opinion.

Now let us see what the Southern Press says. His voice is concurrent with that of Southern Senators.

The *Charleston Mercury* thus rebukes the *Boston Post* and its confederates, for the false construction they put upon the Bill and the speech of Mr. Douglass:

"The Boston Post is in communication upon this gentleman's (Mr. Douglass') recent speech, takes much pleasure in finding, at its outset, its favorite doctrine of squatter sovereignty, or the rights of the people of the Territory to legislate absolutely, an all-powerful subject, and thereby to exclude Slavery, fully established and indicated. We cannot consent to any such construction of the speech, and of the bill which it sustains, without imputing duplicity to the former and an unconstitutional character to the latter. For if it is intended to be argued by the Douglassites, that the Territories are Governments invested with the usual powers, they can legislate so as to exclude and abolish Slavery, when the very law which organizes them declares the Territories open to the immigration and settlement of the slaveholder, it will be, by the most palpable sophistry."

The next extract we submit is from the *South West Democrat*, published at Petersburg, Virginia. It is a comment on the amendment introduced by Senator Chase, affirming the power of the People to prohibit Slavery.

"The South will not be deceived.

"The foregoings are from the *Zanesville (O.) Advocate* of the 23d inst., and is going the round of the papers in the West, in favor of the Nebraska Bill. The section quoted is the famous one said to have been omitted in the first printing of the original Bill, owing to a clerical error. It then appeared as a part of the Bill, but was taken out of the candidate Bill, that one now pending, for the very reason that the slaveholders would not consent to leave the subject of Slavery to the decision of the People, either as represented in Congress or in the Territorial Legislature. We have repeatedly called attention to this misrepresentation, and it was fully exposed in the speech of Senator Chase: but it still persisted in, and will be, by the *Boston Post*. We doubt whether the history of legislation in this country furnishes a parallel to the abominable game of deception now attempted upon the People.

#### SHAMEFUL MISREPRESENTATION.

Designing dunces—*misrepresent*: the founders of the Nebraska bill, by asserting that it contains Pro-Slavery provisions and down-roots of the people. I never solemnly protest against the falsehoods by the bill itself.

The 21st section is as follows:

"That in order to avoid all misconception it is hereby declared, that the true intent and meaning of that act, so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the Compromising measures of 1850, to-wit:

"That all questions pertaining to Slavery in the Territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

"Second: That all questions involving titles to land, and of personal freedom" are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Third: That the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States, in respect to the Territories, are to be carried into faithful execution in all the organized Territories, the same as in the States."

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PACIFIC'S P. O., BARREN CO., KY., Feb. 20, 1854.

I can assure you the number of Anti-Slavery papers taken here, and the number of Anti-Slavery votes given, is no index to the Anti-Slavery sentiment of this community. Though Hale got but few votes in Kentucky, all given for him were returned.

While the last Presidential canvass was going on, I was laboring hard in drawing the Whig and Democratic candidates for elector, and several lawyers with whom I was well acquainted, being present, the conversation turned upon the probable vote Hale would get in Kentucky. On me, my reply was, that for him, Hale would get more votes than he had any idea of, if the vote were taken by ballot. That was the truth. There is in Kentucky strong opposition to Slavery and Slavery-exempt.

It is my opinion, if it could be brought to the people, that Hale would be elected.

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openly, actively, and perpetually on the side of Freedom.

The National Constitution was adopted in 1788. And here we discern the same spirit. The emphatic words of the Declaration of Independence, which our country took upon its lips as baptismal vows, when it claimed its place among the nations of the earth, were not forgotten. The preamble to the Constitution renews them, when it declares its object to be, among other things, "to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." Thus, according to unchangeable words, the Constitution was ordered, not to establish, secure, or sanctify the institutions of slaveholders—not to make Slavery national in any way, form, or manner—not to foster the great wrong, but to "establish justice," "promote the general welfare," and "secure the blessings of Liberty."

The resolutions of Franklin, and those of the memorial of a similar character, was referred to a Committee, and much debated in the House, which finally sanctioned the following resolution, and directed the same to be entered upon its journals, viz:

"That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the removal of slaves from the soil of the States it resides in; the several States to provide any regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require."

This resolution, declaring the principle of non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States, was adopted by same Congress which had solemnly affirmed the prohibition of Slavery in all the existing Territories of the Union. And it is on these double acts, at the first organization of the Government, and the recorded sentiments of the founders, which is calculated, like the Declaration of Independence, if practically applied, to carry Freedom to all within the sphere of its influence. It was specifically declared, that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;" that is, without due presentation, indictment, or other judicial proceeding.

The discredited words "Slave and Slavery" were not allowed to find a place in this instrument, while a clause was subsequently added by way of amendment, and, therefore, according to the rules of interpretation, particularly revealing the sentiments of the founders, which is calculated, like the Declaration of Independence, to permit territory acquired by conquest or purchase—it seems to me impossible to deny its existence, without invalidating a large portion of the legislation of the country, from the adoption of the Constitution down to the present day.

This power was asserted before the Constitution itself. It has been exercised from the first existence of the Government, and has been recognized by its three departments—the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial. Precedents of every kind are thick in its support. Indeed, the very bill now before us, would sustain a control of the territory clearly inconsistent with those principles of sovereignty, which are said to be violated by a Congressional prohibition of Slavery.

At this time there was strictly no dividing line in the country between Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery. The Anti-Slavery sentiment was thoroughly national, broad and general, pervading alike all parts of the Union, and uprising from the common heart of the entire people. The Pro-Slavery interest was strictly personal and pecuniary, and had its source simply in the self-interest of individual slaveholders. It contemplated Slavey as a domestic institution, and as a political element—

and merely stimulated for its security, where it actually existed within the States.

Sir, the original policy of the country is clear and unmistakable. Compendiously expressed, it was non-interference by Congress with Slavery in the States, and its prohibition in all the national domain.

In this way, the discordant feelings on this subject were reconciled. Slave masters were left, at home, in their respective States, to hug Slavey, under the protection of local laws, without any interference from Congress, while all opposed to it were exempted from any responsibility thereto.

It was the cause of Heaven." In another mood, and with mild, judicial phrase, Mr. Madison "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man." And Washington, in letters written near this period—which completely describe the aims of an Abolitionist—said "that it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery may be abolished by law," and that to this end "his suffrage should not be wanting."

In this spirit was the National Constitution adopted. In this spirit the National Government was first organized under Washington. And here there is a fact of peculiar significance, to which I have already, on a former occasion, called attention, but which is well worthy of perpetual memory. At the time that this great chief took his oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the *national ensign nowhere within the national Territory covered a single square*. On the sea, an execrable piracy, the trade in slaves, was still, to the national shame, tolerated in almost every port. In the States, as a sectional institution, beneath the shelter of local laws, Slavey unashamedly found a home. But in the only Territories at this time belonging to the Nation, the broad region of the Northwest, it had already, by the Ordinance of Freedom, been made impossible, even before the adoption of the Constitution. The District of Columbia, with its fatal dowry, had not yet been acquired.

Entering upon his high duties, Washington, himself an Abolitionist, was surrounded by men, who, by their lives and declared opinions, were pledged to warfare with Slavey. There was John Adams, the Vice President, who had early announced that "consenting to Slavey is a sacrilegious breach of trust." There was Alexander Hamilton, who, as a member of the Abolition Society of New York, until by the nomination of Washington, became Chief Justice of the United States. In his sight Slavey was an "inquiry"—"a sin of crimson dye," against which ministers of the gospel should testify, and which the Government should seek in every way to abolish. "Were I in the Legislature," he wrote, "I would present a bill for the purpose with great care, and I would never cease moving it till it became a law or I ceased to be a member. Till America comes into this measure, her prayers to Heaven will be impious." By such men was Washington surrounded, while from his own Virginian came the voice of Patrick Henry, amidst confessions that he was a master of slaves, crying, "I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my debt to virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them." Such words as these, fitly coming from our leaders, belong to the true glories of the country :

While we such precedents can boast at home, keep to Fabricius and thy Cato, Rome!

The earliest Congress under the Constitution adopted the Ordinance of Freedom for the Northwestern Territory, and thus raised the question of Slavey in all the existing Territories of the Union. Among those who sanctioned this act were men fresh from the members of the Convention, and therefore, with its policy. But there is another voice which bears testimony in the same direction.

The Supreme Court of the United States have given great prominence to the sovereign right of taxation in the States. In the case of Providence Bank vs. Pittman, 4 Peters, 514, they declare—

"That the taxing power is of vital importance; that it is essential to the existence of Government, and incident of such power is never to be assumed;"

And again, in the case of Dobbins vs. Commissioners of Erie County, 16 Peters, 447, they say—

"Taxation is a sacred right, essential to the existence of Government, an incident of the sovereignty. The right of legislation is co-extensive with the incident, to attach upon all persons and property within the jurisdiction of the State, as far as may be."

Now, I call upon Senators to remark, that this sacred right, said to be essential to the very existence of Government, is abridged in the bill now before us.

For myself, I do not doubt truly to promote the welfare of the people, to introduce a new system of taxation, for objects either special or general, little doubt exists that the rights and remedies in relation to it are usually the same as apply to other landsholders within the States."—(United States vs. 1 Woodbury and Minot, p. 76.) I assume, then, that without this prohibition these lands would be liable to taxation. Does any one question this? Nobody. The conclusion then follows, that by this prohibition you propose to deprive the present Territory, as you have deprived other Territories—aye, and States—of an essential portion of its sovereignty.

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